

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

AID-05 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03

CIEP-01 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 SY-05 SCCT-01 USSS-00

IO-10 MC-02 ACDA-05 /107 W  
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R 041733Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6643

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BONN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 DUBLIN 613

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR EEC ECON SOPN EI

SUBJ: DRAFT ANNUAL POLICY ASSESSMENT

REF: STATE 9732

SUMMARY: WE SUGGEST THAT THE FOUR LEADING US OBJECTIVES IN IRELAND  
ARE: TO ENCOURAGE IRISH POLITICAL STABILITY, TO IMPROVE THE IRISH  
CONTRIBUTION TO US/EC RELATIONS, TO PROMOTE US ECONOMIC INTERESTS,  
AND TO IMPROVE UNDERSTANDING OF THE UNITED STATES BY OPINION  
MAKERS AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC. EACH OF THE OBJECTIVES IS  
EXAMINED BELOW. SINCE REFTEL REQUESTS BREVITY, WE HAVE KEPT  
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BACKGROUND TO A MINIMUM. WE HAVE MADE ALL RECOMMENDATIONS

WITH AN EYE TO COURSES RECOMMENDED IN PREVIOUS YEARS, AND  
(AS REQUIRED BY REFTTEL) WE HAVE EXPRESSED JUDGMENTS ABOUT PROGRESS  
TOWARD THOSE COURSES OF ACTION. THE FINAL PARAGRAPH ASSESSES  
THE RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO MEET OUR OBJECTIVES.

END SUMMARY

1. ENCOURAGE IRISH POLITICAL STABILITY.

A. PROPOSED US COURSES OF ACTION:

- USE ALL AVAILABLE LEGAL MEANS TO DISCOURAGE US FINANCIAL  
SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM, INCLUDING REFUSAL OF VISAS FOR IRA FUND-  
RAISERS AND MOVING AGAINST ILLEGAL AMERICAN PRIVATE INVOLVEMENT.

-- ENCOURAGE THE IRISH IN THE REPUBLIC TO MAKE THE REFORMS  
NECESSARY FOR EASING NORTH-SOUTH TENSIONS.

-- ENCOURAGE THE NORTHERN PROTESTANTS TO ADMIT CATHOLICS AS  
FULL PARTNERS IN GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY.

-- ENCOURAGE BRITISH TO RETAIN PEACEKEEPING TROOPS IN NORTHERN  
IRELAND UNTIL A STABLE POLITICAL SOLUTION HAS BEEN ACHIEVED.

-- DO NOT OBJECT IF BRITISH NEED FURTHER TROOPS FROM NATO  
COMMITMENTS.

-- CONSIDER UN PEACEKEEPING FORCES ONLY AS LAST ALTERNATIVE IN  
EVENT OF BRITISH WITHDRAWAL.

B. BACKGROUND:

A LASTING END TO THE IRISH VIOLENCE IS STILL NOT IN SIGHT.  
NORTHERN PROTESTANTS HAVE NOT YET BEEN WILLING TO GIVE CATHOLICS A  
SHARE IN POLITICAL POWER; SOUTHERN CATHOLICS HAVE MOVED ONLY SLOWLY  
TOWARD THE KIND OF REFORM THAT WOULD EASE PROTESTANT FEARS OF  
"ROME RULE." THERE HAS, NO DOUBT, BEEN HELPFUL ATTITUDE-CHANGE  
ON BOTH SIDES, BUT IT HAS NOT BEEN REFLECTED IN POLITICAL PROGRESS.  
THERE IS STILL A DANGER OF CIVIL WAR. THE PRESENCE OF A  
COMPETENT BRITISH PEACEKEEPING FORCE IS THE CHIEF DETERRENT. THE MAIN  
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FEAR OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IS THAT THE BRITISH WILL WITHDRAW BEFORE  
A STABLE POLITICAL SOLUTION HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. THIS WOULD PROBABLY  
RESULT IN MASS KILLING. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE BRITISH SEEM CAPABLE  
OF MAINTAINING SOME DEGREE OF CONTROL AS LONG AS THEY CHOOSE, EVEN IF

THEY CANNOT IMPOSE A REAL PEACE ON THE WARRING TRIBES. THE  
CONTINUED PRESENCE OF BRITISH FORCES, THEREFORE, IS THE KEY

ELEMENT IN ANY POLICY PROJECTIONS.

THE UNITED STATES HAS SOME INFLUENCE ON THE IRISH VIOLENCE. ACCORDING TO THE IRISH GOVERNMENT, THE MAIN TERRORIST ORGANIZATION ON THE ISLAND -- THE "PROVISIONAL" IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY -- HAS RECEIVED MUCH OF ITS GUNS AND MONEY FROM MISGUIDED AMERICAN CONTRIBUTORS. FOR SEVERAL YEARS, IT HAS BEEN OUR POLICY TO REDUCE THIS SUPPORT. WE MUST PERSIST IN THE POLICY. AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO TERRORISM IN WESTERN EUROPE ARE AN OFFENSE TO CONSCIENCE, TO AMERICAN INTERESTS, AND TO TWO FRIENDLY COUNTRIES.

C. PROGRESS TOWARD US OBJECTIVES:

THE "PROPOSED COURSES OF ACTION" LISTED ABOVE COME UNDER TWO HEADINGS. THE FIRST HAS TO DO WITH US CITIZENS SUPPORTING IRISH TERRORISM; THE SECOND HAS TO DO WITH LONG-TERM ENCOURAGEMENT TOWARD PEACE. THE DEPARTMENT HAS MUCH MORE INFORMATION THAN THIS EMBASSY ON THE PROGRESS UNDER THE FIRST HEADING. WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THERE HAS BEEN DEFINITE PROGRESS AGAINST GUN-RUNNERS AND THE ALLIED "CHARITIES," BUT THAT MUCH MORE REMAINS TO BE DONE. THE PRINCIPAL AMERICAN BASE FOR IRISH TERRORISM (THE "IRISH NORTHERN AID COMMITTEE") IS STILL OPERATING MORE-OR-LESS OPENLY. THE IRISH FREQUENTLY ASK HOW WE AMERICANS WOULD LIKE IT IF A GROUP IN IRELAND WAS PUBLICLY RAISING FUNDS FOR A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION ACTIVE IN THE UNITED STATES.

THERE IS NO WAY TO MEASURE PROGRESS UNDER THE HEADING OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO PEACE. THERE HAVE BEEN FEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR AN EFFECTIVE AMERICAN ROLE. SOME OF OUR RECOMMENDATIONS WOULD BE CARRIED OUT ONLY IN THE CONTINGENCY OF PLANNED BRITISH WITHDRAWAL, AND THIS, FORTUNATELY, HAS NOT OCCURRED.

2. IMPROVE IRISH CONTRIBUTION TO US/EC RELATIONS.

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A. PROPOSED COURSES OF ACTION:

-- USE THE IRISH EC PRESIDENCY AS INTENSIVELY AS POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO BUILD A LASTING FRAMEWORK FOR CONSTRUCTIVE US/EC RELATIONS AND PRODUCTIVE CONSULTATION.

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

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CIEP-01 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 SY-05 SCCT-01 USSS-00

IO-10 MC-02 ACDA-05 /107 W

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R 041733Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6644

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 DUBLIN 613

-- IMPROVE OUR COMMUNICATIONS WITH IRELAND AND, THROUGH  
THEM, TO THE SMALL EC COUNTRIES.

B. BACKGROUND:

THE EC IS STILL ORGANIZED AS A GROUP OF NATIONS, NOT PEOPLE, AND  
THIS GIVES IRELAND AN INFLUENCE OUT OF PROPORTION TO HER SMALL  
RESOURCES. FOR SOME YEARS, AT LEAST, IRELAND WILL HAVE ONE VOICE  
OUT OF NINE. THE VOICE WILL NOT COUNT AS HEAVILY AS THAT OF THE  
BIGGER COUNTRIES, BUT IT WILL BE HEARD LOUDLY ON A FEW ISSUES --  
ESPECIALLY WHILE THERE IS AN EXCEPTIONALLY CAPABLE IRISH FOREIGN  
MINISTER. IRELAND HAS HAD A NOTABLE INFLUENCE ON US/EC RELATIONS  
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SINCE ENTERING THE EC. AT FIRST, THE INFLUENCE WAS AT LEAST  
PARTIALLY NEGATIVE; IRELAND WAS FRANCE'S ONLY EC ALLY IN BLOCKING  
THE PATH TO BETTER CONSULTATIONS WITH AMERICA. IN THE EC PRESIDENCY,

HOWEVER, IRELAND HAS, WE BELIEVE, MATURED QUICKLY. DUBLIN DIPLOMATS NOW LOOK AT THEIR OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS RATHER THAN PLAYING JUNIOR PARTNER TO PARIS. THERE IS A GOOD CHANCE THAT THE IRISH EC PRESIDENCY WILL ACTUALLY MAKE A SOLID CONTRIBUTION TO LASTING US/EC COOPERATION.

AFTER DUBLIN TURNS THE EC PRESIDENCY OVER TO ROME IN JULY, 1975, WE WILL AGAIN BE DEALING WITH A SMALL EC COUNTRY RATHER THAN A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY. IT WILL, HOWEVER, BE AN IRELAND WITH AN ENHANCED SENSE OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE AND ABILITY

AND WITH A GREATER SENSE OF IDENTITY WITH ITS PARTNERS IN THE EC. WE WILL NEED TO CHANGE OUR APPROACH, THOUGH NOT OUR LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES. THE EC "SMALLS" TEND TO SEE THEIR INTERESTS AS RATHER DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF FRANCE, GERMANY AND THE UK. USUALLY, THE SMALLS ARE MORE CONCERNED WITH THE EC AS A COMMUNITY, SINCE THEY KNOW THAT THEY LACK INFLUENCE TO PUSH NARROW NATIONAL INTERESTS. THEIR CONCERN FOR EUROPEAN UNITY PARALLELS A US POLICY OBJECTIVE. THE SMALLS HAVE, WE DETECT, OFTEN FELT THEMSELVES IGNORED BY WASHINGTON. THEY FEAR THAT WE LISTEN ONLY TO THE MAJOR COUNTRIES AND THAT THE SMALLS HAVE LITTLE OR NO INFLUENCE WITH US. US INTERESTS IN EUROPE ARE IMPORTANT ENOUGH TO WARRANT AN EFFORT TO FOSTER BETTER COMMUNICATION WITH THE SMALLS, BOTH BILATERALLY AND THROUGH THE EC PRESIDENCY.

C. PROGRESS TOWARD US OBJECTIVES:

EXCELLENT OVER THE PAST YEAR AND ESPECIALLY SINCE THE IRISH ASSUMED THE EC PRESIDENCY IN JANUARY, 1975. BOTH US/EC RELATIONS AND US RELATIONS WITH IRELAND AS AN EC MEMBER ARE GREATLY IMPROVED.

3. PROMOTE US ECONOMIC INTERESTS.

A. PROPOSED COURSES OF ACTION:

-- THROUGH SUCH MULTILATERAL FORA AS THE OECD, ENCOURAGE THE IRISH GOVERNMENT TO ADOPT POLICIES CONDUCIVE TO STABILITY AND SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH.  
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AA CONTINUE THE TRADE PROMOTION EFFORTS OF THE EMBASSY'S ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL SECTION, INCLUDING PROMPT IDENTIFICATION AND REPORTING OF TRADE OPPORTUNITIES.

-- EXPLOIT THE TRADE PROMOTION FACILITIES AT THE TRADE CENTER IN LONDON BY PUBLICIZING TRADE SHOWS AND ENCOURAGING PARTICIPATION BY IRISH BUSINESSMEN.

B. BACKGROUND:

THE IRISH ECONOMY HAS BEEN SEVERELY AFFECTED BY THE WORLD-WIDE RECESSION, ENERGY COSTS AND GENERAL INFLATION. AS A RESULT, THE IRISH GNP GREW AT A RATE OF ONLY ONE TO TWO PERCENT IN 1974, AND PROSPECTS FOR 1975 ARE UNCERTAIN. IN RESPONSE TO THIS, THE GOVERNMENT SUBMITTED TO THE DAIL (PARLIAMENT) IN JANUARY 1975 A MILDLY REFLATIONARY BUDGET INTENDED TO SERVE AS A STIMULUS TO THE ECONOMY. AN UPTURN IN BUSINESS ACTIVITY IS ANTICIPATED BY THE SECOND HALF OF THE YEAR, ALTHOUGH INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE A DAMPENING EFFECT. IRELAND'S IMPORTS IN 1975 WILL PROBABLY INCREASE OVER THOSE OF 1974, AND THIS WILL PRESENT AN OPPORTUNITY TO US SUPPLIERS.

C. PROGRESS TOWARD US OBJECTIVES:

ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES PREVAILING DURING THE LAST 18 MONTHS MAKE IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO MEASURE IN ANY MEANINGFUL WAY THE ACHIEVEMENT OF US ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES IN IRELAND. WE CAN NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT IN 1974, THE LATEST PERIOD FOR WHICH TRADE STATISTICS ARE AVAILABLE, THE US SHARE OF IRISH IMPORTS WAS 6.5 PERCENT, WHICH IS RELATIVELY GOOD CONSIDERING IRELAND'S ENTRY INTO THE EC AND ITS REMAINING STRONG TIES TO THE BRITISH ECONOMY. THERE IS, HOWEVER, A DECLINE FROM THE NINE PERCENT OF THE MARKET WHICH WE HELD IN 1970 AND A SMALL DECLINE FROM THE SEVEN PERCENT IN 1973. THE GENERAL OUTLOOK FOR US EXPORTS TO IRELAND IN 1975 APPEARS SOMEWHAT BETTER.

4. FOSTER AN INTELLIGENT UNDERSTANDING OF THE UNITED STATES.

A. PROPOSED COURSES OF ACTION:

-- INCREASE INTERNATIONAL VISITOR PROGRAM BUDGET.  
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-- AUGMENT THE EMBASSY'S PUBLIC AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS  
BUDGET FOR LECTURES, SEMINARS AND OTHER CULTURAL  
AFFAIRS PROGRAMS.

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CIEP-01 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 SY-05 SCCT-01 USSS-00

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R 041733Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6645

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 DUBLIN 613

-- ENCOURAGE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AMERICAN STUDIES IN  
IRISH UNIVERSITIES AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

-- CARRY OUT A MEANINGFUL, HIGH-VISIBILITY PROGRAM TO  
MARK THE CELEBRATION OF THE BICENTENNIAL YEAR.

-- CONTINUE TO PROMOTE FAIR, BALANCED COVERAGE OF  
AMERICA IN PRESS, TV AND RADIO.

B. BACKGROUND:

CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES, ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION,  
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TOURISM AND ECONOMIC TIES PROMOTE FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN IRELAND  
AND THE US. THIS IS STILL TRUE, ALTHOUGH IN THE CASE OF ETHNIC  
IDENTIFICATION AND TOURISM IT IS FAR LESS TRUE THAN IN YEARS GONE BY  
OR THAN MOST AMERICANS WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE. AS THE BISHOP OF DERRY  
NOTED RECENTLY TO AN AMERICAN AUDIENCE, "WHILE ABSENCE MAKES THE  
HEART GROW FONDER, ABSENCE ALSO MAKES THE HEART GROW RATHER ROMANTIC  
AND UNREALISTIC. AN ASPECT OF IRISH-AMERICANS THAT SOMETIMES AMUSES

AND SOMETIMES ENRAGES THE IRISH AT HOME IS THE COMPLETE ROMANTICIZATION OF IRELAND THAT SOME TEND TO ACCEPT . . . THE IRELAND OF MAUREEN O'SULLIVAN AND BARRY FITZGERALD. THAT VIEW OF IRELAND ORIGINATED IN HOLLYWOOD, AND DOESN'T EVEN EXIST THERE ANYMORE." IRISH PERCEPTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES ARE ALSO SUBJECT TO DISTORTIONS.

ETHNIC TIES ARE DIMINISHED AS THE FLOW OF FIRST GENERATION IMMIGRANTS DECREASES. ALTHOUGH NOT GENERALLY RECOGNIZED IN THE UNITED STATES, MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE UNITED STATES AND ANTI-AMERICANISM HAVE BEEN NOTICEABLY GROWING IN IRELAND, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE YOUNG. MORE IMPORTANTLY, SINCE IRELAND BECAME A MEMBER OF THE EC IT HAS IN A VERY SHORT PERIOD OF TIME "DISCOVERED EUROPE" AND NO LONGER CONSIDERS ITSELF

JUST AN ISLAND BEYOND AN ISLAND. WHILE THIS EASTWARD ORIENTATION AND IDENTIFICATION WITH EUROPE IS NOT PER SE BAD, IT DOES RESULT IN A DIMINISHED INTEREST IN MATTERS AMERICAN. ADDITIONALLY, WITHIN THE LAST YEAR, THIS MORE OUTWARD APPROACH HAS RESULTED IN ESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH A DOZEN OR MORE COUNTRIES AND A CONSEQUENT INCREASE IN DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION HERE. RECENTLY A SOVIET EMBASSY WAS ESTABLISHED IN DUBLIN AND IT IS BEGINNING A CULTURAL OFFENSIVE THROUGHOUT IRELAND.

#### C. PROGRESS TOWARDS US OBJECTIVES:

ON A VERY SMALL PUBLIC AFFAIRS BUDGET BY US STANDARDS IN EUROPE, AND STARTING FROM SCRATCH FIVE YEARS AGO, WE BELIEVE WE HAVE A GOING, VIABLE PROGRAM AT THE POST. ONE PREVIOUS OBJECTIVE THAT HAS BEEN REACHED THROUGH EMBASSY EFFORTS IS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CHAIR OF AMERICAN HISTORY AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN, PRIVATELY FUNDED BY AMERICAN GIFTS OF OVER \$100,000. SEVERAL AMERICAN STUDIES GROUPS HAVE BEEN STARTED IN DUBLIN AND IN THE PROVINCES. WE HAVE OBTAINED AND PRESENTED TO UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN A MINIATURE LIBRARY OF 500 VOLUMES ON AMERICA IN AID OF AMERICAN STUDIES. ANNUAL IVP GRANTS HAVE GONE FROM ONE TO TEN OVER

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THE LAST FIVE YEARS AND THE GRANTEES HAVE BEEN CAREFULLY CHOSEN FOR THEIR "HIGH VISIBILITY EFFECT" AND IMPACT IN THEIR FIELDS UPON THEIR RETURN.

WE PLAN TO KEY MANY OF OUR PROJECTS OVER THE NEXT EIGHTEEN MONTHS TO THEMES MARKING THE AMERICAN BICENTENNIAL. WE ARE AWARE THAT ADDITIONAL FUNDS ARE NOT AVAILABLE FOR THIS PURPOSE; THUS WE ARE COORDINATING CLOSELY WITH USIS LONDON TO ASK THEIR HELP WHEN EMINENT SCHOLARS OR OTHER PROGRAM ACTIVITIES ARE IN THE UK TO BE ABLE TO BORROW THEM FOR IRELAND AT REDUCED COST.

#### 5. ASSESSMENT OF MISSION RESOURCES.

IN A SMALL MISSION OF THIS KIND, IT IS INEVITABLY DIFFICULT



TO KEY RESOURCES TO POLICY OBJECTIVES IN ANY MEANINGFUL WAY. OUR  
BUDGET SIMPLY DOES NOT HAVE THE NECESSARY FLEXIBILITY. SOME  
ADDITIONAL COMMENTS, WILL, HOWEVER, BE MADE WHEN THE BUDGET IS  
SUBMITTED. OUR MAJOR CONCERN IS RELATED TO OBJECTIVE (4) ABOVE.  
THIS IS A COUNTRY IN WHICH WE HAVE SERIOUS PUBLIC-RELATIONS  
PROBLEMS AND RESOURCES BARELY ADQUATE TO MEET THEM. THERE HAVE  
BEEN HELPFUL INCREASES IN RECENT YEARS, BUT WE DO NOT YET BELIEVE  
THAT WE ARE MEETING THE PROBLEM ADEQUATELY.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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